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JPRS 84348

19 September 1983

West Europe Report

No. 2205

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19 September 1983

WEST EUROPE REPORT

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SPD'S LAFONTAINE CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 Aug 83 pp 44-56

[Article by SPD executive committee member Oskar Lafontaine: "To Dare and Leave NATO"]

[Text] A fundamental shift has taken place in this age of shorter flight times, greater target accuracy, of computer-controlled nuclear strikes and the impending changeover to the "launch-on-warning" mode. If there is a nuclear war, it can no longer be determined who the attacker and who the defender is. If technical or human errors can trigger a nuclear war, as scientists throughout the world keep warning us; if pre-alert times are measured in minutes and if computers must be relied upon to give the answers, then technology has reached a point where traditional conceptions of defense and attack have become meaningless. The technical apparatus in existence in both pact systems is such that no one can guarantee any longer that his own defense alliance may not be the one which triggers nuclear war through human or technical error.

It is an old defense-political concept to band together in communities of states in order to protect one's own territory and that of one's partners from attack. But that presupposes that one has the time to check whether one of the partners in the alliance has been attacked or whether, in fact, he himself has been the aggressor. Only then could one decide whether to honor treaty obligations and come to the aid of the state which was attacked.

But that time is no longer available. The technical apparatus is so constituted—and will be even more once the Pershing II's are deployed—that one can no longer make out who the attacker was and who wanted to defend himself against attack. This also applies for that matter, if one side decides to carry out a first strike. The question of what would happen, if one of the members of the defense alliance did become an aggressor was never discussed anyway—given the obsession with a friend-and-foe mentality. Since the world was divided up into good and evil, no one ever chanced upon the idea that some state might at some point break out of the "good" camp and turn to aggression. This question was not asked with respect to the world powers which play a dominant role in their respective alliances. Senator Mark O Hatfield, a Republican, who submitted the nuclear freeze resolution in the Senate, outlined an end-of-the-world scenario caused by an error in the early warning system in a letter to his constituents. Here is what he said:

"We are now at the end of the eighties. Because of the continuing skirmishes engaged in by hostile states around the Persian Gulf tensions are great; for weeks, there has been mutual slander. A military confrontation is as good as certain. The transfer of American and Soviet conventional forces into the proximity of the crisis area causes both nations to proclaim the first stage of nuclear alert.

Suddenly, one night the Soviet early warning system registers a large-scale attack by sea-based Trident missiles. At almost the same instant, Soviet satellites pick up the heat radiation from a simultaneous start of hundreds of MX and Minuteman III missiles in the American prairie. It appears to be a large-scale surprise attack. More than 5,000 unusually accurate warheads, it is assumed, are moving with fantastic speed in the direction of Soviet military installations; guidance and control centers; missile silos; submarines and bombers.

The Soviet computers require precious moments to determine the extent and direction of the attack. More time passes until the small group of Soviet leaders empowered to release the nuclear weapons has been gotten out of bed. The Soviet leadership is informed of the catastrophic conclusions reached by the experts.

The Soviet leaders are told that the Trident warheads, which were launched just 10 minutes earlier, will have annihilated a major part of the Soviet missile force within another 5 minutes. The entire bomber force along with the air bases will be destroyed by hydrogen bombs exploding both on and above the airfields. Only a few moments later, the second wave of MX and Minuteman warheads would destroy the remaining silos as well as the remaining submarines in their berths. The few Soviet submarines at sea, so the reports say, have been under the surveillance of American anti-submarine units ever since they left port. Some of them will be destroyed immediately. If others should surface in order to receive orders for retaliatory strikes, many of them would not survive. Whatever fraction of the missiles would survive all this, they would be destroyed in flight by American weapons systems—either in outer space or over the United States.

Frantic efforts to obtain detailed information about the attack have led to contradictory reports. Although a new situation report would be available within a few minutes, a decision must be made before the first American salvo hits the target. Any further delay could result in the complete destruction of the Soviet Union's strategic capability. This would result in Western hegemony for the next 100 years. The Soviet leadership then decides to carry out a full retaliatory attack and to launch its missiles against military targets in the United States.

A very few moments later, the Soviet leadership is given the correct data concerning the attack. Due to an enormous overload, the Soviet computers have malfunctioned. The attack did not really take place but a real holocaust was unleashed just the same. The missiles cannot be recalled. Inevitably, the United States responds with a strike against the Soviet Union—a rapid strike with immense destructive force."

If one knows that the American operations computer reported an attack 147 times in the space of 20 months because of technical malfunctions, then this scenario is not just a futuristic nightmare. A world power is capable of unleashing a nuclear war on any given day because the early warning system has failed—and Soviet computers are no more reliable than American ones. We have no information on malfunctioning of the Soviet early warning systems. On 9 November 1979, a U.S. computer programming mistake resulted in a report to the effect that the Soviet Union was about to attack the U.S. mainland with submarine-launched missiles. According to American data, it took 6 minutes to find out whether this was due to a switching error in the computer and only then could the nuclear counterstrike machinery which had already started to roll be stopped. In many debates and meetings I have raised the question of what the Soviet technicians are supposed to do in the case of such a false alarm. They know that the first Pershing missiles will reach their target within 6 minutes. There is no answer to this question. The only option remaining to the Soviet Union is to convert their systems to launch-on-warning. A frequently used counter argument is that the SS-20's can also reach their European targets in no time at all. That is correct; but the Warsaw Pact's short-range missiles have long been capable of reaching these targets in an even shorter time.

The difference is that American control centers can wait to find out whether the report that SS-20's are on their way to Europe is a false alarm. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, cannot wait to find out whether a report that a Pershing II is on its way to Moscow is correct or not.

The very limitation of the Geneva talks to Eurostrategic systems is a mistake from a methodological point of view. If there are two world powers competing with one another, meaningful agreements can only be reached on a global scale. There would have to be a global agreement saying that neither world power will deploy nuclear delivery systems facing the territory of the other which do not permit time to correct mistakes.

Both world powers have seen what the dangers are that a nuclear war might break out as a result of the failure of some piece of technical equipment. They have concluded a number of agreements designed to reduce the risk of unintentional nuclear war.

At the Geneva talks, the Americans recently made a proposal that the two sides should henceforth also inform each other of launches of sea-based missiles as well as of longer-range medium-range missiles in advance. These include the SS-20's, the SS-4's, the SS-5's and the American Pershing II's.

These are praiseworthy attempts to avoid unintentional nuclear war by means of mutual agreements; but because of the technology already in place they are doomed to failure. Even the American offer to announce Pershing II launches in advance is a futile effort to help resolve this problem.

As far as I know, no test launches of Pershing II's are planned for Europe. The advance notices of the Pershing tests in the United States are of no interest to the Soviet Union within the context of the issues I am discussing here. As a rule, these launches and test results are also being reported by the American press. The launches of the Pershing II's deployed in the FRG which are not preannounced of course are of much greater interest to the Soviets. But they no longer have the time to check whether the Pershing II launch took place as a result of some technical malfunction or whether it was ordered from Washington.

In 1962, the Soviet Union wanted to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba. The result of that attempt by the Soviet Union to achieve a strategic position similar to that of the United States is well known. John F Kennedy risked a world war in order to prevent it. Kennedy was able to get the Soviet Union to back down then because the United States still felt it enjoyed nuclear superiority and because it would have been at even more of an advantage in case there had been a conventional confrontation in Cuba. Computer technologist Joseph Weizenbaum makes the following comment on the Cuba crisis:

"I frequently read that it would be terrible if Idi Amin or Muammar Qadhafi possessed the nuclear bomb. This is a roundabout way of saying that we can rely on our people because they are rational. But today we know—or at least I know—that is not the case. During the Cuba crisis, a gentleman, a hyper-rational man like John F Kennedy gave the orders to prepare a first strike against the Soviet Union. Kennedy not only had the matches in his hand; he had even started playing with them."

According to his brother Robert, Kennedy no longer had things under control. "I think those few minutes were the worst for the President. Was the world standing at the edge of a holocaust? Was it our fault? Was it a mistake? Was there anything else we should have done? Or should not have done?"

What was it that led John F Kennedy to reach a decision that exceeded the capabilities of one man by far? Did he know what he was doing when he gave the orders to prepare a first strike against the Soviet Union? Had he been overtaxed and deformed by power to such an extent that he could no longer see mass murder millionfold for what it was—to say nothing of having that concept impinge on his feelings? Why is it that America has forgotten that one of her Presidents stood ready to start a nuclear war in order to prevent the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in proximity of American soil? And if the NATO two-track resolution is implemented, what will happen, if there is someone on the Soviet side who reaches the same decision that Kennedy did?

Let us imagine that the present American President were faced with a situation analogous to the Cuba crisis. At this time, he is about to start a new conflict in Central America in which the other world power is also involved. Nuclear weapons are far more numerous and far more difficult to control today than they were 20 years ago.

Before the FRG joined NATO there were frequent debates about whether the integration of the FRG into the Western defense alliance would not block reunification and increase the danger of war in Europe.

The question of whether membership in the North Atlantic alliance provides us with more security or less is being discussed again today. In his book "To Make Peace—Some Thoughts on Security Policy," former General Gert Bastian writes: "The last and most important step to be taken by the FRG on its long way toward true sovereignty must in the final analysis be its withdrawal from the Western defense alliance in favor of a state of bloc-free neutrality as soon as the majority of our citizens has been persuaded of the fact that this state poses lesser dangers than the existing community of fate which links us to powers with nuclear armaments." Bastian's purpose is to restore sovereignty. As it happens, it is far from pleasant to think that our lives depend on what one of the old men in the Kremlin or the White House decides or on how well a computer functions. In view of the destabilizing development of nuclear weapons systems Bastian wishes to liberate the Germans from their deadly community of fate with the nuclear powers.

In his book "The Deadly Utopia of Security," Erhard Eppler writes: "Over the medium term, a dynamics of common European interests—or one might even say a type of European solidarity—must relativize the pact systems; loosen and overarch them and at length replace them." He is aware of the fact that the Soviet Union will scarcely be the one to take the first step which would consist in permitting a relaxation within the Warsaw Pact and comes to the conclusion that only a loosening within the Western alliance would open up the possibility that the Warsaw Pact, too, would change. In his view, the West Europeans—being freer—should take the first step.

The basic concern of these authors is to dissolve the nuclear community of fate which ties us to the superpowers. They are therefore calling for a de-nuclearization of the FRG. The consequences of NATO membership which worry us are not the result of treaties which have been set down on paper. The decisions on security are made by the technical apparatus which has been set up inside our country. It makes the decisions on how far our community of fate with the nuclear powers goes. It makes the decisions on how deep our direct involvement in a nuclear conflict will be—without our being asked. If the technical apparatus which makes us an essential part of the global strategy of the Western superpower disappears, then NATO membership becomes an issue of secondary importance.

Over the longer term, neither American, nor Soviet soldiers have any business being in Europe. All those who say that political considerations come first as against concepts of military security should not overlook the following: once one gets beyond a certain point in the quality and quantity of weapons systems, the idea of politics first becomes meaningless. Once the technical apparatus has gotten to the point of where no one can control it any more in times of crisis, then responsible political actions are no longer possible.

The question of what is to be done, if one of the members of the alliance becomes the aggressor was never raised in the defense alliances. Both super-powers set up a technical infrastructure on the soil of their allies which has two sides to it. This infrastructure acts as a guarantee that the opposing world power cannot mount an attack without running the risk of entering into confrontation with the other world power. But that infrastructure is also set up in such a way that it leaves both world powers with the capability of regionally limiting nuclear war to Europe. The consequence of that military infrastructure is that the members of the alliance are jointly liable in case of a military adventure. They are liable even in a situation where one of the two world powers turns into an aggressor. As a result of the constantly increasing automatization of the nuclear operational decision-making process the apparatus has in the meantime become such that one of the world powers could turn into an aggressor without intending to.

The first person to try to find an answer to this question in Europe was France's then chief of state, Charles de Gaulle. He did not wish to leave the decision on the life and death of the French people to the United States or any other nuclear power. At the time, de Gaulle was not yet aware of the possibility that computers might unleash a nuclear war. Here is what de Gaulle said at a press conference in January 1963:

"To have allies; to have allies such as we have is a matter of course in the historical era in which we live. But to be able to decide freely on one's own and maintain one's existence as best one can is a categorical imperative for a great people as well because alliances do not possess absolute virtues no matter on what sentiments they are based. And if one gives up—even if only for a time—the power to make decisions on one's own, one runs the risk of never getting it back."

In France's case, Charles de Gaulle's policies still apply today. In 1980, French President Francois Mitterrand wrote: "France withdrew from NATO—which is to say she withdrew from the supreme command which is a branch office of the Pentagon. We got out and we are never going back in. One does not leave decisions to others in matters where one's own life and death are concerned."

The two world powers have integrated their alliance partners into their global strategy. It is time that the Europeans follow the thinking of Charles de Gaulle. A sovereign state does not leave the decision over its own life and death or the decision of whether to enter war or not to another power—not even to a world power. For that matter, this kind of relinquishment of our right to sovereignty violates our constitution. If the two world powers—for whatever reason—are locked in conflict, they will draw their allies into these conflicts. That is the other side of the protective umbrella.

Even if there was not enough time after World War II to think about what would happen, if the leading power became an aggressor and defined its own interests in global terms, then the new weapons technology with all of its consequences must make it clear to any responsible European statesman that the state of affairs where the Europeans are liable in any instance where a world power embarks on some adventure is intolerable.

Throughout all these years, the Soviet Union has shown little restraint when it came to viewing its allies as their property with which it could pretty much do what it wanted. A democracy like the United States cannot copy the behavior of the leading Eastern power. But no one can fail to note that the Reagan administration has given a very clear example over the past few years of how cavalierly a world power can treat its allies.

Reagan tried to blackmail the allies economically (in the pipeline deal) while at the same time selling his own wheat to the other world power. U.S. economic policies create great difficulties for the economies of the allies. They have asked, without any success whatever, that the United States lower its discount rate so as to counter the economic depression. The decision to build the neutron weapon which, as is known, is designed for use on the European battlefield or the proposed move of the NATO supreme command from the continent to the British Isles took place without consultation with the allies.

In our competitive society, the world powers, too, are thinking only of their own interests. They would, without any moral qualms, limit warlike confrontations to the territory of their respective allies. It would be dangerous for the European nations to have any misconceptions about this.

The NATO pact is obsolete. Article 1 of the treaty requires all parties, in conformance with the UN Charter, to resolve any international dispute in which they are involved peacefully and in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not jeopardized. They vow not to resort to the threat of force or to employ any type of force which is incompatible with the goals of the United Nations.

The nations joined together in NATO have violated this article on many occasions. The flexible strategy which explicitly calls for a nuclear first strike is at odds with the UN Charter. Let me cite one of the most recent instances of it: On 14 December 1982, the UN General Assembly by a great majority passed a resolution calling for a nuclear arms freeze.

All the nations of the East Bloc voted for it. Led by the Reagan administration, most of the NATO member states, including the FRG, voted against it. One can certainly not say it is an oversimplification to state that the elimination of nuclear weapons is one of the goals of the United Nations. The NATO allies do not dream of adhering to the goals of the UN.

In article 5 of the NATO treaty the parties start with the assumption that it can be determined which state has attacked which other state. Once that has been verified, they intend to adopt immediate measures on their own behalf and in cooperation with the other parties as may be deemed necessary. They also intend to notify the Security Council immediately. Once the Security Council has taken the necessary steps to restore peace internationally, they propose to discontinue their own national efforts. The automatization of nuclear warfare to the contrary notwithstanding, the members of the North Atlantic Treaty thus still seem to believe that they will be able to determine who the aggressor was or in other words which early warning systems have failed.

Although medium-range missiles such as the SS-20's and Pershing II's have a flying time of just a few minutes, the NATO member states still believe that there will be time to notify each other and to adopt coordinated steps to restore the security of the North Atlantic treaty area. They also believe that they would be in a position to notify the Security Council; in other words, they assume—and one must merely recall the nuclear war scenario of Republican Mark O Hatfield—that New York would survive a nuclear exchange unscathed. As soon as the Security Council has restored international peace, it is their intention to discontinue the measures they have instituted. In the aftermath of a nuclear exchange, however, there will be precious little left of the Security Council with which to restore peace and security in the vast areas contaminated by atomic radiation.

When the NATO treaty was signed, all the abovementioned articles may still have made some sense. Today, however, they sound like rules and regulations from an era long past which have nothing in common any longer with the reality of military installations which now cover the whole globe.

In article 8, the parties state that they will not enter any international obligations contrary to the text of the treaty. It is doubtful whether raw material imperialism is compatible with the wording of the NATO treaty.

Article 5, however, spells out what needs to be done, if the blocs are to be dissolved. The article, in fact, makes reference to the Security Council—in other words to an international organization which overarches the pact—

Missiles are magnets. The "Fight Against Nuclear Death" movement of the fifties already was aware of that. But the security politicians and most German journalists still have not understood why that is so. They do not understand why it takes a Pershing II to make the SS-20 really dangerous. And yet there is such a simple reason for it.

The Pershing II forces the Soviets to build down the safeguards against a false launch of the SS-20's. It forces the Soviets to target their best and fastest missiles on the presumed Pershing launch sites. It is small comfort to think that it works the other way around as well. Every missile that is added to the arsenal on the basis of the new technology makes accidental nuclear war more likely and makes the other side's missiles more dangerous. The technical apparatus is set up according to a certain logic: there is a specific response to every specific system. A short reaction time can only be countered by a reliable, automatic response. But that response is reliable also if one link in the chain has made a mistake. And the logical consequence of that is that the denuclearization of the FRG would represent a first step toward greater security.

Even if this step were taken unilaterally, it would offer us greater security. The Soviet Union would then not be forced to target its nuclear weapons on the nuclear storage facilities and the nuclear delivery systems deployed in the FRG. And even more so—the already announced re-modernization of the Soviet arsenal would not take place. An announcement in PRAVDA on 1 August 1983 said that in case American medium-range missiles were deployed on West German soil the FRG would have to face the fact that it would be confronted by a dense forest of missiles in the GDR. Like any self-assured superpower, the Soviet Union is sure to have forgotten to ask the inhabitants of the GDR whether that forest of missiles makes them feel more secure. The proposal by the Palme Commission to institute a 150-kilometer wide, nuclear-free zone on both sides of the German-German border is a step in the right direction.

Security policy up to now has been caught in indissoluble contradictions. Arms control policy has failed even if those who put their faith and trust in it for many years are having a hard time accepting it. The confrontation of the blocs is standing in the way of the solution of the most important problems the world presently faces.

We have tried to show a number of steps to be taken in order to remedy the situation. The process of European unification must be furthered. It is an existential matter for the Europeans to liberate themselves from the nuclear rivalries of the superpowers. This in turn has a bearing on the military-technological apparatus that has been built in Europe.

The FRG must have the courage to withdraw from the military integration of NATO and become nuclear-free. Nuclear weapons should be stored in only those countries which actually produce them. The best way to reduce the fears of neighbors and to build confidence is to reequip the Bundeswehr with defensive weapons.

Internal and external peace are indivisible. People who have not made peace with themselves cannot make peace with the outside world. The real test for everyone who is committed to the fight against nuclear weapons is the violence issue. Freedom from violence is the true expression of the inner peace of the individual. Non-violent action is a rehearsal for the technique of social defense.

The responsible citizen must be convinced of the fact that civil disobedience is the inborn right of every human being. Man cannot give that right up without giving up his humanity. Anyone who wishes to suppress civil disobedience is intent on putting conscience in chains, as Gandhi has said. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, the Christians refused to obey the laws of the Roman Empire. Their Christian faith forbade them to serve in the military. His Christian faith must make every individual resist the crimes of nuclear armament.

In the era of nuclear insanity the right to refuse to serve in the military becomes a duty. One cannot expect an individual to subordinate himself to an anonymous machine which will destroy everything that makes life seem worth living to him.

Today, we cannot only hark back to the traditions of the early Christians but also to that of the Goettingen Manifesto in which the best physicists of the FRG proclaimed their refusal to take part in the use of weapons of mass destruction. The working people are called on today no longer to play a part in the production of military equipment. The old concept of the product strike must be revived. Political strikes are a legitimate means of countering worldwide rearmament.

The Hippocratic Oath is an appeal addressed to all of us. More and more professional groups must begin to oppose nuclear arms. Judges, prosecutors, natural scientists, teachers, metal workers in arms factories—all of them are fighting against the nuclear threat against our life. Women have a special role to play in this fight. Arms insanity is an expression of manliness insanity in our society. Women have unlearned mercy and compassion to a lesser degree than men.

American bishop Raymond G Hunthausen holds back 50 percent of his taxes in order to protest the nuclear arms buildup of his country. In the FRG, too, voices are now being heard which call for a tax strike against arms expenditures in our country as well. Some of our citizens started on a hunger strike on Hiroshima memorial day. During the demonstrations this fall, millions will be protesting against the terror posed by the nuclear powers. There are many ways of coming out in opposition to the arms buildup. Surely it will not be the governments of this world which will put an end to the arms race and bring about disarmament. Disarmament must start with us. The commitment of the many is the precondition to a conversion to life.

whose job it would be to settle the disputes in which NATO is involved. In stating the case in favor of having the FRG withdraw from the military integration of NATO, we are not proposing that it should revert to the position of a national state. In this regard, the way we must go differs from the policies of Charles de Gaulle. Going back to the national state is not the answer for a country which casts doubt on the two opposing alliances. The answer can be found in international agreements which are based on the tenets contained in the Charter of the United Nations. The two opposing blocs should not be dissolved in order to turn into national states but into an international organization. Turning Europe into an independent entity would be a first important step in this direction.

For a long time, only the nations of Eastern Europe, the alliance partners of the Soviet Union, were afraid of the power at the head of the coalition. What the inhabitants of those countries were afraid of in terms of threats and violence did not come from the West but from the Soviet Union. That is the way it was in the GDR in 1953. In 1956, the Poles and the Hungarians went through the same experience and in 1968, the Czechs witnessed the Soviet invasion. Romania, too, was constantly being pressured by the Soviets. The Polish people has withdrawn from Warsaw Pact for all intents and purposes. Bulgaria is the only East European nation that has been able to get along with the leading Eastern power after a fashion thus far. The remaining East European peoples have looked upon the Soviet Union not as an ally but as a constant threat—and they still do.

What is new is that the United States is increasingly being looked upon as a threat in the West during the past few years. The continuing destabilization of the weapons systems is posing an ever greater threat to the European nations and in particular the FRG. A nation that permits delivery systems to be stationed on its soil which do not give the other world power enough time to correct mistakes is in extremely great danger. The new strategy of geographic escalation which has been turned into an essential aspect of American military strategy by the Reagan administration runs completely contrary to the vital interests of the Europeans. The strategy of wageable and winnable nuclear war which has been decided upon despite all denials of the Reagan administration calls for the United States to be in a position to wage and win a nuclear war. One part of this strategy is to be able to regionalize nuclear war.

It takes no more than one look at the map for a European to come out in opposition to the concept of a limited nuclear war and to view the American umbrella as a threat. The new ground forces air-land battle doctrine gives up on the forward defense principle. The Americans now intend to bring an attack by enemy troops to a grinding halt on Soviet soil with the help of modern conventional arms as well as nuclear and chemical weapons.

Or, as Bertolt Brecht put it: The man, having a happy thought, put this question: 'Did he find out anything ?' To which the boy answered: 'Yes-- that water in its softness over time defeats the mighty stone. It is the hard things, you understand, that succumb at last.'

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CSO: 3620/449

REVOLUTIONARY CELLS ISSUE DOCUMENT ON ANTI-AMERICANISM

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Documentary on a paper by "Revolutionary Cells": "Beethoven Against Mac Donalds? 'Revolutionary Cells' on the Difference Between Anti-Americanism and Anti-Imperialism"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] /Berlin (taz). --In a 4-page paper the "Revolutionary Cells" gave a detailed account of their position on the attacks against U.S. military installations, in the Fall of '82, by fascist groups in the Rhine-Main area. In this paper they discuss in detail the confusion and doubts about the attacks, a confusion caused by the fact that anti-Americanism is widely spread also among the political left. In the view of the "Revolutionary Cells" the confusion about the forces behind the attacks is, however, also the result of a pronounced lack of interest, among the left, in the developments in the German neo-fascist movement, and in neo-fascist cooperation with the secret services. According to the "Revolutionary Cells" the TAZ [TAGESZEITUNG] makes no honorable exception, on the contrary, if a commentator of the TAZ thanks the BKA [Federal Criminal Police Bureau] for the arrests of fascists, then--after the arrest of the Hepp group--this is tantamount to placing the "moral responsibility" for the attacks on the shoulders of the "Revolutionary Cells."

The primary concern of the paper of the "Revolutionary Cells" is to clear themselves of this "moral responsibility," to thoroughly highlight the differences between their own position and the anti-Americanism of the neo-fascists and parts of the Peace Movement. We publish the paper with the introductory passages missing. (the editor)/

/The "Revolutionary Cells" start out by explaining the essential difference between the attacks of the armed left against the U.S. military installations and those of fascist groups. The Hepp group, above all--so they state--operates on "a wave of anti-Americanism which we reject and which we oppose as a political concept." Further we read:/

It is malicious to suggest that the attacks of the /Revolutionary Cells/ the RAF [Red Army Fraction] and numerous autonomous groups against the U.S. Army, against military installations, NATO logistics, communication systems

or U.S. multinational concerns, that those attacks operate on a comparable or even similar level of anti-Americanism or that they promote anti-Americanism.

Almost without exception these actions were motivated by anti-imperialism and thus carried in themselves the chance to deepen the rifts and contradictions within the U.S. Army and to support the opposition of the national and ethnic minorities. We have attacked officers clubs, not the mess halls of regular personnel and supermarkets. In bomb explosions directed against subsidiaries of U.S. multis, not a single one of the lower ranking German or American employees was harmed. Don't forget that the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Frankfurt was the target of our attacks, that our actions were directed against fuel depots of the military, not against gas stations in American residential areas. It was finally not without reason that we chose Reagan's trip to Europe and the NATO summit as an opportunity for a series of actions, and not a concert of Sammy Davis Jr, or the running-extention of the TV series "Dallas." The most recent attacks against SEL [Standard Electric Lorenz] in Dusseldorf and against IBM in Reutlingen leave no doubt as to where the differences are.

Those who are familiar with our work, and who have consistently read our political statements, know that we reject a policy that is ill defined and directed against parts of the people; they know that we reject terrorism. The tension-and-blood-bath strategies are the terrain [as published] of fascist groups or secret services, for which people are nothing but pawns anyway, chess figures that can be moved and beaten, figures that can be sacrificed for some lousy advantage. They exploit the fear of the population for a policy aimed at influencing and changing the structure of political institutions. We, on the other hand, think of ourselves as part of a powerless social revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement, in the FRG and West Berlin, to whose growth and increasing political and military stability we will continue to contribute. Our long struggle for liberation comes from below and does not play with the lives of human being, neither the lives of our own comrades, nor the lives of other people. And we are still at an early stage of this process, where we essentially fight a battle for the hearts and minds of the people, but not, by all means, a war!

That we fight this battle with arms and explosives, just as the Rightists and the pigs do, must not lead anyone to the conclusion that this is the same thing! (...)." [punctuation as published]

/About the widespread nationalism and anti-Americanism and the failure of the peace movement to distance themselves from neo-fascist programs the "Revolutionary Cells" write:/

"The political responsibility for the confusion about the question as to who is behind the anti-American attacks is not ours or that of other groups of the armed left. Not we, but parts of the Peace Movement in particular are wallowing in a diffuse nationalism, are spreading the nonsense of the FRG as an "occupied country," make the perspective of a revived German patriotism palatable [as published], and are leaving the grounds of left-wing politics when they turn the missile deployment issue into an issue of national identity. The borders

between anti-imperialism and the mobilization of anti-American sentiments become necessarily fluent, when the matadors of the Peace Movement base their protest against the arms build-up and the Pershing II on an appeal to German patriotic sentiments against quasi-colonial suppression.

It makes a big difference whether we conceive of McDonalds as a U.S. food concern which has set standards for both the organization of labor-intensive minimal wage employment and, indeed, the agro-business worldwide, or as a manifestation of a "Yankee Culture" of whatever nature. Whoever makes /here/ Coca Cola almost a synonym for genocide, or thinks of it as a principal manifestation of a "cultural imperialism" on a par with the U.S. Government support for almost all military dictatorships, deprives himself of the possibility of understanding the fascist origins of nationalist and anti-American activities.

The political scandal is not that the fascists have turned this position, which is also characteristic of parts of the Peace Movement, into military actions; the political scandal is that there is no such position and that--by singling out and fighting the social revolutionary and anti-imperialist positions--it could be enforced [as published] by leftist reformists of all shades, by the signature-cartel [as published], from the taz to the Green Party, thereby, consciously in part, and in part naively, enhancing the possibility of opening up the Peace Movement for an alliance even with nationalist and fascist positions.

The transition from anti-semitic actions and acts of terror against worker immigrants and political refugees to anti-American attacks, which characterizes the practice of fascist groups, is surprising only at the first glance. They operate, after all, on identical levels of racism and xenophobia. Hitler's contention that "there is more culture in a single Beethoven symphony, than in all the accomplishments of the American society combined" characterizes all the dark sentiments and aversions against the American "unculture" which today come to surface in the crusades against "anti-Americanism" [as published; they probably mean "Americanisms" (ed.)] in the German language, and which 25 years ago surfaced in the slanders against blue jeans and "negro music." Michael Kuhnen about the significance of anti-Americanism within the political Right: "From a historical point of view this is an old tendency because, as everybody knows, we had to fight the World War II against the United States as well as against the USSR. It's the old story of the Center (!) of Europe turning against alien forces in the East and the West. Today there is, in addition to the historical aspect, the aspect of the decline of our culture, our language, our music, which was imported from America [as published]--we reject that vehemently. Let me remind you of the drug problem. The point is that everything we fight against can basically and without effort be identified with the key word "Americanism."

We cannot discuss here the political objectives of the Right in any more detail. But their program, the formation of a European block under German hegemony, is obvious and points toward an increase in anti-American actions which, as far as their basic pattern goes, will follow the "proven" course also in the days ahead.

The rat race against foreigners and the xenophobia, the singling out and persecution of everything that is "different," are and will continue to be deeply rooted motives in the FRG, motives the fascists count on. Especially in the Rhine-Main area, in the cities and communities in which U.S. troops are stationed, there are racist sentiments against American soldiers, i.e. colored soldiers in particular, which elsewhere exist against Turks and Arabs.

"Never since the 30-years war has the city experienced such insecurity: robbery, murder, rape, day and night.... The old part of the district town of Friedberg is the civilian training ground for our drunks, vandalizing and raping American protectors." This faint stirring of fear with all its racist components--how many bars are off-limits for colored U.S. soldiers, for example--is the basis for all anti-American activities. It is all the more regrettable that we should find this quote in the taz issue dating from 8 April 1982 under the heading "Yes to Anti-Americanism."

/Finally the "RZ" [Red Cells] address once more the cooperation of neo-fascist groups with various secret service organizations. After the inauguration of the CDU government, massacres such as the Octoberfest attack are no longer on the agenda, they maintain; in the opinion of the "RZ" the Octoberfest incident was to demonstrate the incapability of the social liberal government to control their secret services and to promote the election of Strauss. After 6 March, the highest priority of the secret services was to undermine the credibility of both the legal and the illegal opposition./

"Today, on the other hand, there are increased efforts to discredit legal and illegal opposition alike by means of diffuse actions, efforts to contribute to the watering down and the disorientation of the goals of the armed struggle of the left by confusing anti-American and anti-imperialist attacks, and efforts to build up police-controlled terrorist groups which operate in our own or some other name, that is to say which reject any kind of responsibility [as published]. Thus, the propagandists of the pig apparatus [as published] have tried, for example, to blame us for the attacks of fascist groups, even though the state security department knew from the very start that we were not involved. It is also more than strange that Odfried Hepp, of all persons, who allegedly was trained in Falangist and PLO camps in Beirut, who was then brought back to the FRG in a difficult operation by the Federal Intelligence Service, and who is finally the crown witness against "military sports"--Hoffmann [as published] and supposedly one of the prime initiators of the Hoffmann group, the same Hoffmann who got away with a ridiculous court verdict, and who didn't even have to do half of his time--that this Hepp, of all people, is the only one who could escape in time to avoid his arrest. [Punctuation as published]

The interest of state security in fascist groups and their activities, as well as the favorable treatment these groups received by parts of the security apparatus, does not at all mean, however that state security, in fact, stages them [as published]. We declare as pure nonsense the claim of the alleged "RZ" which apparently can't help but suspect federal attorneys behind those "counterattacks"--too "professional" anyway for the standard of the "RZ"--the same federal attorneys under whose operative direction the BND [Federal Intelligence Service] and the BKA allegedly struck in the American residential areas.

1. We wonder what "too professional" is supposed to be in a repaired light switch and a weed-ex-blend [as published].
2. Such an assessment would deny the independent existence of fascist groups, thus contributing to the fact that there does not exist a critical evaluation of their positions within the left.
3. Such a claim presupposes the transformation of institutionalized power and legalized violence leading to the development of state planned terrorism--a development which we don't think is impossible in individual cases, to be sure, and which we certainly think is possible in principle, but for which there are no indications at the present time. To find evidence for such a development in the "dangerousness" of the "RZ" or in the "Guerillia Diffusa" [as published] means to excessively overestimate our own importance.

The CDU/FDP government, above all, will leave no opportunity unpassed to undermine the credibility of both legal and illegal opposition, and to apply additional pressure by increasing the arsenal of repressive measures. The dragging investigations against the Hepp group are a prime example, the police attacks against RADIKAL or the ATOM EXPRESS are the other side of the coin; where disorientation is the goal, those channels, which still seek clarification, have to be plugged.

We cannot prevent fascist actions. However, we can seek to clarify our political positions and try to keep our practical work free of ambiguities. This presupposes, however, that other parts of the left be ready and capable to discuss their policies and ours.

In this spirit: Happy Easter 1983

Revolutionary Cells

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CSO: 3620/301

ENERGY ECONOMICS

FRANCE

BRIEFS

ESSO CLOSES BORDEAUX REFINERY--Refining continues to experience a serious crisis. Esso will close its Bordeaux refinery in 1984. It is useful to know that a centime less per liter for all petroleum products represents lost revenues of Fr 1 billion a year for French refineries. [Text] [Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 30 Jun 83 p 54] 9969

CSO: 3519/589

OIL RESERVES SUFFICIENT ACCORDING TO EEC DIRECTIVES

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 27 Aug 83 p 7

/Text/ Alternate Minister of National Economy I. Pottakis has essentially confirmed the information that the country's oil reserves are close to the safety limits.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr Pottakis acknowledged that we have reserves of 2.160 million tons with an obligation of 2 million tons in accordance with EEC directives.

Specifically, the alternate minister's statement reads as follows:

"The estimated amount of crude petroleum to cover the country's needs in petroleum products amounts to 9.2 million metric tons. EEC directives determine the holding of safety reserves to cover needs for a period of 90 days for member-states. The safety reserves are calculated once the petroleum produced within a given country is subtracted from the overall annual consumption. In other words, once the production of Prinos, that amounts to 1.2 million metric tons a year, is subtracted from the 9.2 million metric tons.

"On the basis of this directive, the safety reserves that our country must maintain in both crude petroleum and refined petroleum products amount to 2 million metric tons.

"In these amounts, according to EEC instructions observed by all its member-states, are included the reserves held by private refineries.

"Reserves existing in our country, without including those held by the private refineries Motor Oil and Petrola, amount to 2,160,000 metric tons, i.e. above the necessary safety reserves and without our counting the amounts of petroleum of private refineries.

Breaking down the reserves owned by the state, we have the following:

"a) 1,30,000 metric tons in the reserves of state refineries (Aspropyrgos, ESSO).

"b) 500,000 metric tons in the reserves of big consumers, such as DEI /Public Power Corporation/, etc. and commercial companies.

"c) 150,000 metric tons, also the property of the Greek state, in private reserves.

"d) 160,000 metric tons on vessels that sail toward our country.

"We have taken all appropriate measures so that we might increase our reserves so long as this will be deemed necessary and we have ensured conditions for the normal supply of the market and under more difficult conditions than those prevailing today on the international market."

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CSO: 3521/428

LARGE OIL DEPOSITS REPORTED IN THASOS AREA

Athens TA NEA in Greek 22 Aug 83 p 7

/Article by Pavlos Alisanoglou/

/Excerpts/ Kavala, 22 August--The Kavala sea basin and regions west and east of Thasos constitute the epicenter of interest for DEP /Public Petroleum Corporation/ for the coming years.

All of the prospecting plans being drawn up by the corporation's scientific personnel have as their target the above-mentioned areas which are still considered to be "virgin" from the standpoint of prospecting and exploratory drilling operations.

Up to the present, the western sector of the Gulf of Kavala has been explored, i.e. over an area of 1,500 square kilometers. Drillings that have taken place have not exceeded the 3,500-meter depth, although they could have reached and even gone beyond 5,000 meters, whereupon the possibility of finding new parallel petroleum-bearing geological structures would have been 50-50.

This was not done by multinational companies during the period of the dictatorship or under ND since they wanted to limit their personal expenditures and also since they were in a hurry to move forward on the productive exploitation of the Prinos deposit by securing rights in the region. Today, after 11 whole years, during which our country has acquired experienced petroleum industry personnel, they are of the opinion that the Prinos deposit is not limited only to a depth of 3,500 meters but it is very possible that it continues to a deeper level. High technology is needed in order to confirm this, technology that was not implemented in the Prinos case, first of all by the American Oceanic and later by the Germans and Canadians of the NAPC[?Petroleum Consortium].

There is an explanation, that we merely mention here, to the effect that ND officials wanted at all costs to produce the first Greek petroleum from Prinos in July 1981, before the elections took place. For reasons only they themselves know.

Moreover, the NAPC used an old model drill (Votengo 3) for the exploratory phase, a drill that did not have a bit that could reach a depth greater than 3,800 meters. Consequently, the foreigners had ruled out from the very outset that the Prinos exploration would not go any deeper than that regardless of the fact that some new petroleum-bearing geological structure existed further down.

Also, in connection with the above is the fact that north of Prinos and very close to the known deposit, still another deposit has been found with which the NAPC did not concern itself.

According to TA NEA's reliable information, DEP experts have been putting things in order and have been evaluating and working on all the geological and geophysical results and data at hand so as to come up with final deductions.

From developments so far, it appears that the Kavala-Thasos sea basin contains much more petroleum than has been discovered so far. For that reason the DEP, by using the most recent technological means, is trying to locate new petroleum-bearing anticlines in porous rock formations, especially in the southwest sector of the Gulf of Kavala. New drillings are expected to take place here in the future, under exclusive Greek control, once the DEP has capable and experienced technical personnel.

Prospecting will also be extended toward Nea Peramos in Kavala Nome where "thin" petroleum-bearing strata with limited "reserves" had been discovered in the past.

Petroleum had also been located north of the Prinos deposit but its productive exploitation had been doubtful a few years ago. Perhaps a development plan for this deposit may be worked out in the future.

All of these facts clearly show that the Gulf of Kavala is a vast "petroleum basin" and it is not possible that there is only the positive Prinos anticline existent whose overall extent is 4 square kilometers. The "life" expectancy of the deposit is estimated at 10-12 years with reserves of 55 million barrels. There are also many other petroleum-bearing strata but high technology and large amounts of money are required to locate them. The DEP is decided to go forward on this project, something that previous administrations did not dare do.

Similar systematic petroleum exploration will also be conducted in the vicinity of Keramoti in Kavala Nome where geophysical and geological data now in the hands of DEP scientists show that petroleum anticlines exist.

Generally-speaking, there is at this time absolute optimism among DEP circles for finding more on-shore and off-shore petroleum deposits now that a broader prospecting program has been set in motion. This fact will make our country (as expected) the first petroleum-producing country in Europe within a few years.

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CSO: 3521/428

BRIEFS

NEW DEP OIL EXPLORATIONS--The DEP /Public Petroleum Corporation/ has begun new petroleum exploration in Ipeiros and Aitoloakarnania with possible EEC financing. As announced yesterday by Mr And. Papathanasopoulos, DEP chief adviser, the prospecting includes two deep drillings and more if needed. DEP will also conduct drillings to a depth of 2,000 meters in Lavdani and in 1984 these drillings will be extended to Zakynthos (on-shore) and northwestern Peloponnisos. Finally, he added, the DEP goal is to create within a few years a self-sufficient petroleum company that could complete prospecting plans and exploitation of deposits. For that reason its program includes the purchase of its own drilling equipment and other such material. According to Mr Papathanasopoulos' estimates, DEP's program, at the current financing of prospecting, will be completed after a period of 10 years. /Excerpts/ /Athens TA NEA in Greek 20 Aug 83 p 17 5671

CSO: 3521/428

DOWNWARD TREND IN TRADE WITH GDR EXPECTED

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 25 Aug 83 p 21

[Article from Bonn: "Bonn Expects Turn in Intra-German Trade"]

[Text] The FRG Ministry for Economics expects the high rate of growth in intra-German trade is going to weaken in the immediate months ahead. Even though the GDR had greatly reduced its foreign exchange indebtedness in recent months, it could not afford a continuation of the strong imbalance in the trade flow between the two German states without losing its creditability among western banks. Furthermore, in the second half of the year East Berlin would have to meet large payment obligations in exchange units, a spokesman of the ministry announced with reference to the Leipzig Fall Fair.

In the view of the ministry for economics, it would already be a success if in the course of this year FRG supplies to the GDR were to rise by circa 10 percent and purchases, by 5 to 6 percent. In the first half of the year, however, intra-German trade, according to reports from Bonn, increased by 16 percent to 7.9 billion exchange units (exchange unit [VE] = one DM). Thus the rate of growth was still somewhat higher than in 1982. This expansion was almost exclusively due to larger purchases by East Berlin: While supplies to the GDR jumped by one third, to VE 4.3 (3.2) billion, purchases rose merely by 2 percent, to VE 3.6 (3.5) billion.

Because of this imbalance in the development, already adumbrated in the last quarter of 1982, the FRG thus achieved a supply surplus of circa VE 724 million, in commodity exchange alone--i.e. disregarding the service sector--resulting, for the first time since 1979 again, in a supply surplus in favor of the FRG at a clip of VE 470 million. This raises the accumulated excess of the FRG vis-a-vis the GDR since the beginning of intra-German trade in the early 1950's to between VE 4.5 and 4.6 billion, financed out of delivery credits, resorting to the intra-German overdraft credit, at roughly VE 580 million at this time, and the committed finance credits for investment business of previous years, amounting to a little more than DM 1 billion. It had exceeded the previous maximum by 15 percent, which had shown a volume of VE 3.9 billion in 1979. As meanwhile purchases from the GDR had increased roughly by one half, the indebtedness situation, relatively speaking, was still more favorable than 4 years ago. At the same time, the GDR, according to Bonn estimates, had achieved a trade excess with the other western industrial states between \$ 350 and 400 million.

The deficit expansion in clearing had, by and large, been financed by delivery credits, 80 percent of which run for one year. There had only been a slight increase, from VE 540 to 580 million, in resorting to the swing, the interest-free overdraft credit the central banks grant each other. At present, the GDR still has free leeway in it of barely VE 200 million.

There are problems the GDR has in intra-German trade mainly, the Bonn ministry thinks, because "the special clearing system" between both German states permits no strong imbalances over longer periods of time. Moreover, in fall, so the Bonn ministry for economics thinks, large volumes of delivery credits will fall due, and the GDR's reaction to that will be to curb its purchases in the FRG and, mainly, to seek to boost its exports greatly. To do that, East Berlin will mainly use its pricing policy, as the ministry for economics sees it. An indication of it was seen in the increase of pricetesting procedures. More credits, so it seems, are not that much of a problem in intra-German trade. For boosting its trade the GDR presumably needs mainly new customers.

The stagnation of purchases from the GDR, according to ministry for economics statistics, is due mainly to the drastic drop of volumes and prices in buying mineral oil products. At a solid VE 750 million, they still are the largest item on the shopping list. In almost all other areas the GDR was able to sell more to the FRG, however.

As to FRG deliveries, the structure has remained problematic as before: There were increases mainly in raw materials and prefabricates with relatively minor refinement. Iron and steel has become the largest sector meanwhile, showing a delivery boost of 260 percent to VE 750 million. Besides, the GDR bought from the FRG mainly synthetic fertilizer, livestock feed, nonferrous metals and, of course, crude oil.

To close a gap the GDR had to open another one: East Berlin has purchased its reduction of its international debt in foreign exchange by increasing its deficit vis-a-vis the FRG, as it were. If one puts the export surplus in the trade with other western industrial countries together with the delivery deficit in intra-German trade, the bottom line still shows a positive trade balance, to be sure, but there is not much left. Thus foreign economy problems, in principle, are likely to continue, even after East Berlin managed to put its debts on more shoulders. Banks will continue to be very cautious in granting credits, true to the principle that he who needs credit most has the hardest time getting it. The consequences of foreign exchange shortages in the GDR are hard to ignore. Tougher than the shortages in bananas and Japanese stereo receivers are the long-range effects, however: As long as the foreign exchange barely suffices for buying raw materials and prefabricates, no modern machines and tools can be bought. That jeopardizes the rationalization opportunities, the chances for product innovation, in other words, the future competitiveness on the world markets. It will take a few years for the current low ebb in the cash box to demonstrate the effect it has had.

MITTERRAND ESTABLISHES INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS FORUM

Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 Aug 83 p 5

[Article: "Defense: Mitterrand Confirms the Creation of a Communications Forum"]

[Text] In a communiqué, the communications Forum states: "The President of the Republic confirmed the creation of the International Communications Forum at the Defense Ministry. This action demonstrates France's determined commitment to the world of communications and its determination, in cooperation with its partners, to master its social, cultural, and industrial aspects." It continues: "Indeed, it is a matter of responding to four major factors in the evolution of French society: the professional mastery, particularly by youth, of the new technologies and their uses; the development of social communication; the cultural mastery of new forms of communication; international cooperation for a better balance in exchanges relating to communications, particularly with Third World countries."

The decision of the President of the Republic is based on the report given to him last 3 June by Robert Lion, chairman of ASCOM [Association for the Study and Establishment of the International Communications Forum]. The proposals of which have taken ample account of the opinions expressed.

The plan which has been accepted offers a triple dimension to the Forum: "communications workshops" will welcome individuals and groups with innovative projects; an "acclimatization garden" with communications technology will make use of games and entertainment to inform and develop a general awareness in the public; a "business office" of international dimensions will unite the groups and firms involved with production, financing, distribution, and exchanges in the communications field.

In the initial period, ASCOM, whose general management has been entrusted to Francois Mahieux, will have to ensure the International Communications Forum's mastery of its working plan and specify its exact program--which is necessary for the registration of the planning permit scheduled for the beginning of 1984.

Last 10 March, the President of the Republic gave ASCOM, founded by Jean d'Arcy, the responsibility of investigating and clarifying the work of the

1982 mission led by Serge Antoine, current vice-chairman of the Association. Its studies made it possible to determine the directions of the "Tete Defense's" international architectural competition.

A public establishment of an industrial and commercial nature will be created between now and the end of the year to take its place. Starting in 1984, it will take on activities concerning the partner bodies of the Forum in order to set up a network of cooperation and it will support the activities already undertaken by existing bodies or those which will be set up between now and 1988, the date when the Forum will begin full operation at Defense.

[It is to be recalled that the plan of the Danish architect Johanottan von Spreckelsen had been chosen by the President of the Republic from among 424 competing candidates from 41 countries. Remember that this choice, which won out over the four finalists picked by the jury, includes a building which was entitled "the Arch of Man's Triumph" by its creator. In addition to the International Communications Forum, this building which emphasized the historical perspective of Paris, will also house two ministries. It forms a part of "the grand plans of the Elysée." It is to be noted that it was inscribed on the agenda of the "grand plans" of the last two administrations and that the projections for the future, which were no doubt different, promised as broad a parameter as the most recent creation.]

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CSO: 3519/596

RAILROAD INDUSTRY SUFFERS SETBACKS

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 25 Jul 83 p 42

[Text] An Error in Planning

Due to a lack of serious, coordinated planning between the RATP [Independent Parisian Transport System] and the SNCF [French National Railroads], the French railroad construction industry will only be able to count on exports for financial support. This industry finds itself in an uncomfortable position which foreshadows difficult times ahead. Twenty-nine thousand persons are employed by the industry, which registered 10.2 billion FF in sales in 1982.

The RATP and the SNCF actually worked rather well together while effectuating a policy designed to modernize their respective fleets during the last decade. They encouraged their investors to invest heavily. At present, the SNCF has either completed or nearly completed its large programs for electric locomotives, modernization of railroad-cars, acquisition of Corail railroad vehicles, and construction of the TGV [high-speed train] in the south-east. The RATP is also nearing completion in the modernization of its trains, the white subway, the RER [Regional Express Train Network], and materiel for interconnection.

As a result, the annual delivery rate to these two government-run firms, the SNCF and the RATP, will drop from roughly 600 vehicles for the SNCF and 300 for the RATP to 100 for both firms. This fiscal austerity has been aggravated by another cutback: the FDES [Economic and Social Development Fund] has asked the SNCF to reduce the total amount of its projected investment in the SNCF for 1983 by 500 million FF. The projected amount to be invested in the RATP must also be reduced by 400 million FF or by a third. The industrialists' highest hopes remain with the Atlantic TGV [high-speed train] line (via Le Mans and Tours). Its cost is approximately 12 billion 1982 FF, including 4.5 billion FF for 95 TGV sections. While Charles Fiterman describes this project as "desirable," the national Audit Office recently restated its objections to the project: "Its necessity, as well as its profitability for SNCF itself and for the nation, are not as evident as in the case of the South-East TGV." The Federation of Railroad Industries, located on Bixio Road, disagrees with this assessment.

Project

In the words of Jean-Claude Guibal, Delegate General, "To abandon the Atlantic TGV would be a severe blow to the industry, unless another project were to quickly come to light." Another project? This calls to mind the "other TGV" (towards Brussels, the Netherlands, West Germany, and... London, when a structure across the English Channel will have become a reality and will have ceased being viewed as a mythical monster). However, the studies have made little progress. The German, Belgian, and French Ministers of Transportation met in Paris on 19 July and created an ad hoc committee to prepare a report on a possible high-speed line linking Paris, Brussels, and Cologne.

Emphasis on Exports

In the meantime, the railroad industry is vigorously promoting exports. Foreign sales have grown from 10 percent of total sales in 1950 to 35 percent, and even 40 percent (over 3.8 billion FF in 1982). This industry has successfully penetrated the world market, especially in subway systems (from Montreal to Lagos), and has made significant sales of locomotives and railroad-cars, etc.

On paper, the world's needs are huge. The market is estimated to be on the order of 30 billion dollars annually. Unfortunately, most of the potential clients do not have enough money and require financial arrangements in which the exporters assume a great deal of the financial burden.

Nonetheless, this French industry has its eyes on South-East Asia, where it hopes to get the contract for the first section of the Singapore subway. Other potential deals meriting close attention are the Los Angeles subway system and that of Houston, whose subway project seems to be gaining support once again. There is also the Argentinian subway system, which requires trains on two levels. However, competition from the Japanese, Canadians, British, Germans, and Americans is stiff.

No one today believes the prospective foreign sales will be sufficient to avoid reductions in personnel and reorganizations. As for personnel reductions, Pierre Sudreau, former minister, president of the Federation of Railroad Industries, has warned the prime minister: "If the work force is cut by one-third, this would mean at least 10,000 fewer salaried workers from now until the end of 1985, and 1,500 of them would be in northern France."

Reorganizations? Two principal poles have been formed under the auspices of the national government: One pole is centered around Alsthom-Atlantique (led by Franck Vaingnedroye) of the CGE [French General Electric Company] Group; the other pole is centered around the MTE [Electric Traction Equipment Division] [owned by Henri Jullien] of Empain-Schneider; and, between the two in the Francorail CIE [Economic Interest Group] lies the alliance of the "independents" (whose principal member is the ANF [Construction Company of Northern France]), which tends to support MTE. The reorganizations will certainly not stop here.

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CSO: 3519/595

ECONOMIC

FRANCE

BRIEFS

INMARSAT: USSR UNDERCUTS ARIANE--The Soviet Union has offered "Proton-Launch," its most powerful rocket, to the International Maritime Satellite Organization. The price announced (\$24 million with a second launch at half price in case of failure to orbit) is much lower than that of its western competitors (between \$51.4 and 145 million). This decision could seriously affect Ariane (\$55.7 million, October 1982 price) which has just lost two orders from Intelsat (Navette was selected). [Text] [Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 30 Jun 83 p 54] 9969

CSO: 3519/589

LABOR MINISTER ON INDUSTRIAL RECONVERSION, SAGUNTO

Madrid YA in Spanish 23 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Jose Manuel Serrano]

[Text] Murcia--The labor minister, Joaquin Almunia, told YA in an interview granted before the end of his vacation at the beach in Zenia, Alicante, that, "The studies on the alternate plan to create jobs for Sagunto, which is still incipient, are well under way. But there is nothing concrete as yet. I don't think that we are going to find jobs for everyone. Nor are we going to create all the jobs in Sagunto, or even in Valencia. Many workers in Sagunto will have to go to other locations in Spain."

The minister expressed optimism. "I believe that we are on the way toward curbing unemployment, and the latest data that we have are sufficiently positive to reinforce that belief. At the end of June, unemployment in Spain was less than what it was on 31 December. This is the first time in 10 years that unemployment has declined during a period with respect to the previous one. No jobs had been created in this country since 1975; and 40,000 have been procured during the first half of this year. I think that these data prove that we are now on the path of an effective battle against unemployment."

Joaquin Almunia, minister of labor, aged 34, from Bilbao, with a degree in economics and law, at first appeared to be in a hurry to end the interview. We interrupted his game of dominoes. Later, he was to talk for over an hour about the performance of his department and about the Socialist cabinet's economic policy in general.

The minister smiles when you ask him about the by now famous 800,000 jobs that the government claimed it could create in 4 years. He admits that this is a trite question. His response: "It is a difficult but possible goal. To be sure, it is not certain that we shall attain it, but we shall try. I believe that the first results of the past 6 months confirm that possibility. It has been proven this year that with a growth of about 2 percent in our economy, employment can be generated, whereas it had been thought that, for this to be able to happen, the growth had to be over 4 percent."

Wages Are Not Declining

The minister remarks: "The wage aspect has been considered in the 4-year plan that the government is devising, from the standpoint that the overall purchasing power of wage-earners will not decline during the coming years. And I say overall because there might be individual cases wherein this is not fulfilled; but the total amount of money used to pay wage-earners will not decline, taking into account, of course, the fact that we trust that individuals now unemployed will be arriving on the job market."

The minister also confirmed the fact that, from now on, there will be fewer stoppages of employment and more layoffs in the business firms in a state of crisis. "Yes, because we did not realize that, in many instances, the stoppages did not lead to anything, and only managed to delay the procedures allowing the workers to receive an unemployment subsidy."

He acknowledged the existence of major fraud in the collection of the amounts of money for unemployment, although he made some distinctions: "On the one hand, there are the workers collecting unemployment who do some sparetime jobs once in awhile; and, on the other, there are the business firms which, according to the worker, hire him so as thereby to save on social security taxes and unemployment. In the case of the former, I still have a certain amount of understanding and, at the most, some type of penalty is fitting. But in the case of the latter, we must act more harshly, and we shall do so by coordinating the inspection with the Social Security entity, and making it more effective." At the same time, he announced to YA that the new minimum wage that is being approved, taking the anticipated inflation index into account, will be close to 35,000 pesetas.

2909
CSO: 3548/488

BILBAO BANK REPORT ON NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Madrid ABC in Spanish 23 Aug 83 pp 9, 40

[Text] According to a technical report prepared by the studies service of the Bank of Bilbao, although 800,000 jobs have been created throughout the 4 years of the Socialist term, the unemployment rate in Spain will stand at 13 percent at the end of 1986.

The study makes a forecast of the job market over the 4-year period, and concludes that, if the rate of employment creation does not rise during that interval, the social situation in Spain will be far more critical, because unemployment would affect over 18 percent of the active population.

Between January 1983 and January 1987, the Spanish population of working age between 16 and 65 years old will increase by about 955,000 persons (442,800 women and 512,200 men), a figure obtained from the projection of statistics on the population's vegetative growth and mortality.

Since not all the new population joins the job market, the study estimates that approximately 400,000 persons will be added to the active population throughout the 4-year period, and hence will enter the market in search of employment. If the Spanish economy is not reactivated during that period (in other words, maintaining the same employment level as in 1982), unemployment will increase to a percentage of 18.5 in 1986. This would occur if the volume of jobs eliminated were to be balanced by the number of new jobs. Even in the event that the 800,000 jobs promised by the government should be created, by the end of 1986 the unemployment rate would have dropped only 4 points, and would amount to 13 percent of the active population.

A more recent study prepared by the same bank on the progress of employment during the first half of the current year indicates that the Socialist government started its term in the best circumstances of the past 8 years; because, for the first time, the results of the figures between the creation and destruction of jobs was positive.

The report notes that this progress may be short-term. Between June 1982 and June 1983, the active Spanish population increased by 202,000 persons, and, during those 12 months, 17,600 jobs were lost; which means that unemployment increased by 219,000 persons. Nevertheless, despite this growth in the active population, during the first half of the year an increment of 10,000 jobs was discovered; something that appears to reflect a curbing in the rate of job destruction which began 5 years ago.

It is a fact that, in mid-1983 (the report remarks), it is impossible to know what the volume of employment and unemployment will be at the end of 1986, for the simple, fundamental reason that we do not know what the demand for employment on the part of employers may be at that time. The volume of the demand for employment will be determined by the production rate that is attained, and by the productivity per person employed that may be achieved. Hence, it is the economic policy, in its broadest sense, that will determine this. For this reason, an expansive economic policy that maintains the basic balances in the system will, in the long run, be the only viable policy for generating productive, permanent employment.

Demand for Employment

But while the problem of estimating the volume of the demand for employment as of 31 December 1986 is an extremely risky operation, it is not so risky to assess the volume of the job supply for the Spanish population of working age at that time; because the job supply is fundamentally provided by the population of working age. Naturally, the demand for employment imposes conditions on the level of the supply; because the lack of employment opportunities will discourage a considerable portion of the potentially active population which stops seeking work when faced with the difficulty of procuring it. The information on population of working age associated with a relatively close period of time is not difficult to calculate.

If the chances of emigrating abroad are nil or meager, it would suffice to apply the mortality rates which the statistics show at a particular time to calculate, without risking serious error, the population fit for work. A greater risk of error would be run by estimating what part of that population of working age might be active at a given time; in other words, what part of the population will have a job or will be seeking one, with the addition of both, constituting the statistical category of active population.

The report states that, between 1 January 1983 and 1 January 1987, the Spanish population between the ages of 16 and 65 years will increase by about 955,000 persons (442,800 women and 515,200 men).

But not all that population will enter the job market. By applying the rates of activity, based on sex and age, consistent with the preceding trend, it may be estimated that the active population during the 4-year period in question will increase by about 400,000 in Spain, with a greater profusion among women than among men; because the preceding and current trends indicate a decline in the rate of male activity and an increase in that of female activity.

At the end of the 4-year interval, the unemployment rate will have increased by about 400,000 persons, on the assumption that the employment rate existing at the beginning of this year has continued. If it is true, as the survey of active population for the fourth quarter of 1982 states, that Spanish unemployment totaled 2,234,800 persons, by the end of 1986 unemployment would exceed the rate of 18.5 percent of the active population, if the current employment rate were maintained; in other words, in the event that the volume of jobs eliminated were to be balanced by the rate of new jobs created. If a net total of 400,000 jobs were created, the unemployment rate would be similar to the present one, but the rate would be reduced to 15.7 percent of the active population. However, if the famous net total of 800,000 jobs were created, there would still be over 1.8 million unemployed.

Spanish Population of Working Age and Active Population (thousands of persons)

Population Aged 16-65 Years	Women	Men	Total
Population a/o 1-1-83	12,192.1	12,076.5	24,268.6
Anticipated increase in population (1983-86)	442.8	512.2	955.0
Population a/o 1-1-87	12,634.9	12,588.7	25,223.6
Estimated active population a/o 1-1-83	4,143.6	9,682.2	13,825.8
Rate of activity a/o 1-1-83 (of population aged 16-65 years)	33.99	80.17	56.97
Estimated rate of activity a/o 1-1-87	34.58	78.20	56.35
Estimated active population a/o 1-1-87	4,369.0	9,844.2	14,213.2
Estimated increase in active population, 1983-86	225.4	162.0	387.4

2909

CSO: 3548/487

SHIPIARDS ATTEMPT REGEARING TO MEET MARKET

Madrid ABC in Spanish 23 Aug 83 p 41

[Text] Madrid--The national shipyards will have to gear themselves to the construction of general cargo vessels and give up other specialties, such as the building of oil tankers, the worldwide demand for which has clearly declined in recent years. The naval restructuring plan being prepared by the Ministry of Industry to be introduced this fall will attempt, among other things, to gear the capacity for production and specialization to the market demand.

During the past few years, the worldwide demand for ships has decreased and changed. Last year, the new contracting represented 11.12 million gross register tons and 11.37 million compensated gross register tons; figures which mean a decline of 35 and 30 percent, respectively, from the total contracted for the year before. The difference between the two tonnages is due to the predominance of bulk freighters, ships which have a low coefficient of compensation. The contracting for the demand, which began in 1975, has affected mainly the West European shipyards, while other Oriental shipyards (particularly those of South Korea) have not yet reached their maximum production, despite the crisis. Although, in 1979, a slight recovery was noted on the market, this trend has not been confirmed since another drop in the demand occurred during the second half of 1981.

Gearing to the Demand

In view of this situation, the Spanish shipyards will have to set as a goal in their restructuring the ability to offer the exact products that the world market demands, in addition to gearing their production capacity to the necessary levels. As for the vessels to be built, there will be a tendency toward more specialized ships, with a large component of advanced technology, and toward the construction of bulk freighters and combined and general cargo ships which have been showing the highest contracting figures the world over during the past few years. Also, in the realm of specialization, devices for marine prospecting in the area of platforms with dynamic positioning will be constructed.

With a view toward the plans for restructuring the sector, the technicians in the Ministry of Industry are analyzing the performance of the market during

recent years. The demand for new construction in the past fiscal year was concentrated primarily on the dry bulk and general cargo sectors, while the demand for oil tankers continued to decline. The demand for special tankers has dropped slightly, while that for non-merchant vessels has shown a slight recovery.

The widespread decline in the freight market has caused a rapid increase in the laid up fleet, exacerbated by the incorporation of new tonnage, as in the case of the bulk freighters. In view of this crisis, the European shipyards have been able to survive only as a result of the benefits of exchange, because their contracts had been signed in dollars. Those of the Far East, still eager for growth despite the situation, are competing at very low prices, which has contributed to the imbalance on the market.

Work will have to be done on these guidelines contained in the attached table by the small and large shipyards, whose restructuring plan has already been released, covered along general lines in the "White Paper" published by the Ministry of Industry for this purpose.

2909
CSO: 3548/488

RAISED MANDATORY BANK RESERVE WORRIES CREDIT MARKET

Madrid ABC in Spanish 23 Aug 83 p 39.

[Text] Madrid--The tensions on the credit market may increase considerably in September if the financial intermediaries, especially banks and savings funds, carry out their stated intention of raising interest rates in response to the Bank of Spain's recent measures, entailing a drain of 180 million pesetas for these entities as a result of the 1 point increase in the cash coefficient.

It is considered certain that the savings funds will raise their interest rates for credit operations by 1 point. Sources in the Spanish Confederation of Savings Funds have told EFE [Spanish Press Association] that the pertinent action is being taken to hold a special meeting of the confederation's board of administration during the first week in September, to evaluate the new situation stemming from the rise in the cash coefficient, as well as the 2-point increase in interest on paid deposits.

As of 31 July, the balance of the savings funds' resources belonging to others was close to 6 billion pesetas, specifically, 5.934103 billion pesetas, 207.774 million of which originated in circulating mortgage bonds. With these figures, the 1 point increment in the cash coefficient initially means a drain of funds amounting to about 60 million pesetas; although it is true that one must take into account the compensation resulting from the aforementioned rise in the interest rate on paid compulsory deposits.

After noting that the Bank of Spain's measure "has caused concern and has caught us off guard," the same sources in the Spanish Confederation of Savings Funds remarked that the interest rates for loans granted by the funds (currently at an average of 16 percent) will undergo a progressively rising trend, foreseeably consisting of 1 point on the average. Nevertheless, it does not appear that this increment will be adopted stringently, but rather will depend on the free decision of each fund; although of course there will be an increase of a general nature. They commented: "The monetary authority's measure has a negative effect on the profits and losses, and forces us to raise interest rates."

Moreover, the funds stress the fact that certain credit operations arranged some time ago, as part of the so-called privileged financing networks, are still being continued by the Bank of Spain with remuneration coinciding with the basic interest rate of 8 percent.

The meeting of the Confederation of Savings Funds' Board will coincide with the "summit" meeting that has been called by the chairman of the Spanish Private Banking Association, Rafael Termes, with the board members delegated by the banks, for the same purpose. In short, Spanish banks and savings funds are attempting to cope with the progressive reduction in their margins as intermediaries that has been occurring throughout recent years and has increased during the first half of this fiscal year, the impact of which on the profit and loss account has been described as "disturbing."

Interest Rates Declared by Banks and Savings Funds (in effect as of 30 June 1983)

Declared Preferential Rates

Banks	Commercial Discount	Loans and Credit	Shortages in Current Account	Overages in Cash Account		Higher and Lower Rates in Long-Term Financial Operations
				Higher	Lower	
		1 mo. 2 mos. 3 mos. 1 yr. 3 yrs. 3 mos. 1 yr. 3 yrs.				
Seven Greats						
Billbao	10.75	13.00	15.00	15.50	17.50	15.50
Central	11.00	13.00	15.00	17.00	18.50	15.50
Spanish						
Credit	11.00	13.00	14.50	15.50	18.00	15.00
Hispano- American	11.00	13.00	15.00	17.50	18.50	15.00
Spanish						
People's	10.00	12.50	14.50	16.50	18.00	15.00
Santander	11.00	13.00	14.50	15.00	18.00	16.00
Vizcaya	11.00	12.75	14.50	15.00	17.50	15.00
Simple Average						
Total Banks	11.40	12.99	15.11	16.38	17.45	16.23
				17.07	17.63	21.34
					21.85	
						17.43
						20.93

Interest Rates Declared by Banks and Savings Funds (in effect as of 30 June 1983) [continued]

2909

CSO: 3548/487

Declared Preferential Rates

Banks	Commercial Discount	Loans and Credit	Shortages in Current Account	Overages in Cash Account	Higher and Lower Rates in Long-Term Financial Operations	
					Higher	Lower
1 mo. 2 mos. 3 mos. 1 yr. 3 yrs. 3 mos. 1 yr. 3 yrs.						
Savings Funds						
Seven Greats						
Barcelona						
Pensions	11.00	12.00	13.00	14.00	15.00	22.00
Madrid	10.00	13.00	14.50	15.00	16.00	18.00
Barcelona				13.00	13.50	
Monte	11.00	13.00	14.50	16.50	18.50	19.50
Zaragoza-				15.50	16.50	
Aragon & Rioja	11.00	13.00	14.50	16.00	17.50	20.00
Postal Fund	-	-	-	-	15.00	18.00
Valencia	-	9.00	14.00	15.00	14.00	19.00
Cataluna	-	15.50	15.50	15.50	15.50	19.50
Simple Average						
Total Funds	10.54	12.42	11.83	15.13	16.46	18.61
					19.28	19.43
					15.07	19.50

Note: The figures in parentheses are surcharges on the contractual rate of the original operation.

POLL SHOWS CENTER-DEMOCRATS ALMOST AT 2 PERCENT THRESHOLD

Copenhagen AKTUELIT in Danish 22 Aug 83 p 2

[Text] According to the most recent opinion poll from Observa, Erhard Jakobsen's party is almost at the 2 percent threshold. If an election were to take place today, only 3 percent of the voters would vote for the Center-Democrats, i.e. 5 percent less than in the election 2 years ago and 1 percent less than in the latest opinion poll in June. One percent has gone to the Progressive Party, but otherwise there have been no changes in the political picture.

The figures for the parties, with the results of the most recent election in brackets, are as follows: Social Democratic Party 34 (32.9), Radical Liberal Party 3 (5.1), Conservative Party 26 (14.5), Single-Tax Party 1 (1.4), Socialist People's Party 11 (11.3), Communist Party 1 (1.1), Center-Democrats 3 (8.4), Christian People's Party 2 (2.3), Liberal Party 10 (11.3), Left Socialist Party 2 (2.7), Progressive Party 7 (8.9).

7262
CSO: 3613/192

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN POLL OPPOSES EARLY ELECTIONS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 22 Aug 83 p 2

[Text] The vast majority of the population is opposed to an election in the fall.

According to an AIM poll, to be published in the daily BØRSEN on Monday, 71 percent of the population finds it unfortunate if the extraordinary meeting of the Folketing to be held on 9 September will result in an election, while only 18 percent wants an election in the fall.

The poll was taken in early August when it became clear that the government may be overthrown on 9 September because there is not yet a majority for the proposal for a reduction of the block grants to the municipalities and the counties. The vast majority of the voters in nearly all parties is opposed to an election, and, for example, 64 percent of the voters of the Social Democratic Party considers a new election a bad idea, while 23 percent is interested.

The voters of the Liberal Party, where as much as 93 percent is against an election, show the greatest opposition to a general election, and even among the Conservatives, who, according to all opinion polls, are likely to make vast gains, 82 percent of the voters is opposed to a general election.

According to the AIM poll, the Socialist People's Party shows the greatest interest in a general election, 39 percent finding it a good idea, but also with the Socialist People's Party, the majority is against an election, viz. 45 percent.

The poll is based on nearly 1,000 interviews.

7262
CSO: 3613/192

UNION WOULD HALT IMPORTATION OF DANES FOR LABOR FORCE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Aug 83 Sect III p 3

[Text] The S.I.K. labor union on Greenland, the parallel to LO in Denmark, would like to halt the importation of Danish workers to that country.

"An S.I.K. delegation has been traveling to various towns on East Greenland and has found that unemployment is much higher than what official statistics show," said S.I.K. Chairman Jens Lyberth.

In his opinion, many day laborers as well as people in rural areas have not been included in the home rule government's unemployment statistics and, therefore, the figures are unrealistic.

Jens Lyberth also believes that more and more Danish workers are arriving on Greenland to join the labor force there.

"The people of this country must come first. Therefore, we have to put a stop to the importation of Danish labor. S.I.K. representatives will also discuss, and probably demand, the establishment of a 5-year plan, by which imported labor would be cut in half," said Lyberth.

8952

CSO: 3613/172

PAPER VIEWS ROLE OF EUROMISSILES IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

Possibly Foreign Policy Mandate

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 8 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Shall we continue to discuss nuclear weapons and missile deployment or shall we let that be and devote ourselves to surfacing of roads, building schools and day nurseries now that the election campaign is about to get under way? This question has been raised in several places throughout our land and, as is fitting and proper, opinions about it differ somewhat. Some politicians, primarily Conservative and Labor Party people, have come forward and said that there undoubtedly will be something like a "national election" this time too. A top Labor Party spokesman has pointed out with vigor, according to reports, that nuclear weapons and missile deployment are such important issues that they cannot be pushed aside, even in local election campaigns. And then there are others, generally aligning themselves with the so-called center, who plead that we not force national politics on voters, turning the election into an opinion poll on national government policies. The election campaign should be premised on local politics.

We do not know whether the parties or the political preachers need special advice in this connection. If our memory serves us right, past local election campaigns have dealt with a whole spectrum of issues, varying greatly from one community to another. Some communities have had a so-called collective issue, which has been fervently discussed and written about for weeks prior to election day. Other communities have looked a little more toward the national government. As already mentioned, however, it has largely been an acceptable variation. Something to everybody's liking, one might say. There has never been an absolute distinction between national and local politics and it should probably not be established this time either.

So we figure that local problems and annoyances will have their rightful and deserved place in the upcoming election campaign. But we also assume that national politics and parliamentary conditions will be

aired through loudspeakers and in newspaper columns. It is hardly necessary to quote anyone, but we would like to support the appeal to "big party cannons" to show a tiny bit of humility on their upcoming visits to counties and municipalities. As is written, local governments are nothing to snap at.

And, in the end, we have to put our trust in local party representatives. Election issues with respect to schools, day nurseries and strained budgets probably have been established already. There is always something to differ about. And if issues and opinions can be presented in such a way that local voters understand what they are all about, it is not impossible that they would be willing to put aside world issues, at least for the time being.

Unemployment Also an Issue

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Local or national election? That question is recurring in newspaper columns all over the country. Feeble voices are crying not to forget the more local problems and needs, begging leading national politicians not to force national political issues when they come to visit. But these gentle pleas do not seem to get through, at least not to Labor Party leaders. The party chairman already has a Norwegian cruise behind her and, as NATIONEN points out, Mrs Harlem Brundtland's top number has been an old theme with no variations. In the south as well as the north, accompanied by local party personages, the party leader has talked about the alarming unemployment and the big social cuts and the refrain has been that had Gro headed the government, the picture would have been quite different and brighter. The present government is the root of all evil.

Probably no one would deny that unemployment has grown considerably, but in discussing this serious problem it is too simple to focus exclusively on today's situation and the present government. This problem has a previous history and two to three Labor Party governments have played an important role in that previous history. For several years now we have developed an exceedingly high cost of living and that is what has created, and is creating big problems with respect to employment. The Conservative Party minority government as well as the present one have been tackling these issues. Big business organizations and others, too, have said they wish things could move a little faster in the right direction and have suggested how that might be done. That is not going to happen with the Labor Party's formula. We already know that and should not forget the results it produced.

So when Gro Harlem Brundtland and other Labor Party personages are now touring town and country attempting to disgrace the government, while making equilibristic attempts to elevate themselves, somebody should ask them a few questions as to how the expansive budget policies recommended by the Labor Party will affect the cost of living and with that, employment policies.

Unemployment is a serious problem, but it cannot be solved nor cut in half, as is being suggested now, by isolating it from the reality in which we live. And our reality is that we must substantially cut costs in order to survive the ever growing competition. Among other things, our ability to compete is of vital importance, to employment as well. Irresponsible outbidding policies may indeed reduce unemployment figures for awhile, but they do not create secure and lasting jobs.

8952
CSO: 3639/159

C.A., AFRICA, 'ROCK' ON GONZALEZ-DE CUELLAR AGENDA

Madrid YA in Spanish 23 Aug 83 p 10

[Text] During his brief private stay in Madrid Sunday, Perez de Cuellar was working with his collaborators in the rooms of a Madrid luxury hotel, from which he went (walking) to the Prado Museum and the Mansion of Good Retreat, to observe Picasso's "Guernica." In the evening, he dined at Moncloa with President Gonzalez, who in this way responded to the (also private) dinner that Perez de Cuellar had tendered him at his New York residence on 22 June of this year. On Sunday night, at Moncloa, the foreign minister, Moran, was not present, but was spending the weekend in his Asturian country (Aviles and Gijon), enjoying a "bit" of his summer vacation. Moran held a meeting with Perez de Cuellar last month in Caracas, where the celebration of the bicentennial of Bolivar's birth was being marked simultaneously.

Two topics predominated in the informal talk between Felipe Gonzalez and Perez de Cuellar at Moncloa: Central America and the problems of South Africa and Namibia (including the Cuban presence in Angola). A review was also made of the world situation, with a view toward the forthcoming plenary session of the United Nations, which starts in mid-September, and in which the decolonization of Gibraltar is to be included.

Insofar as the problems of South Africa are concerned, the position of the Spanish head of government is clearly in solidarity with all those opposing "apartheid." At the beginning of the summer, Felipe Gonzalez wrote to the head of the South African Government, Botha, requesting the pardon of Nelson Mandela (which, of course, is also desired by King Don Juan Carlos), and it is likely that Perez de Cuellar is now concerned, in Pretoria, about that demand for the release from jail of the "South African Gandhi." The leader of the Namibian independence movement, SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization), Nujoma, was in Madrid at the end of March, and received guarantees that Spain would support the independence of that territory which is still dominated by South Africa and whose coasts are among the most abundant for fishing in Africa.

Review of Central America

Perez de Cuellar and Gonzalez held (just as they did in June in New York) a thorough, extensive and detailed exchange of views on Central America. The

United Nations secretary general views with deep concern the North American military deployment in the region, because he fears the consequences that an outbreak of hostilities with direct intervention by Yankee forces would have for the United Nations. Washington's representative on the Security Council, Mrs Kirkpatrick, who has not precluded her country's possible intervention in Central America, would systematically veto all resolutions for a ceasefire or condemnation that might be put forth by the Security Council. Perez de Cuellar fears that the United States' right to veto in the Security Council would turn the United Nations into an inoperative agency in the event of a conflict with direct or indirect Yankee military participation in Central America.

Hence, largely so as not to find himself with a "hot potato" that he could not cool or turn over to anyone else, because the UN is the last resort in world conflicts, Perez de Cuellar is engaged in an extraordinary effort to prevent the failure of the efforts for peace of the "Contadora Group." And he is extremely interested in the backing that this group may receive from the European nations, channeled through Felipe Gonzalez. Perez de Cuellar views with hope the efforts for peace and the contacts in recent weeks between representatives of the Salvadoran guerrillas and the itinerant American ambassador, Stone, which are due to continue over the next few weeks.

Felipe Gonzalez: 'Wait and See'

Cuellar and Gonzalez will continue their intensive support, but at a distance, for the efforts of the "Contadora Group." It would appear that President Gonzalez will maintain a "wait and see" position regarding the development of events in Central America, and that he will not visit the region (as might have been his intention until recently) before the year's end. It is possible that Felipe Gonzalez will put off a visit to Managua, Tegucigalpa and San Salvador, so as not to be prematurely burned with a peace action; although if war should break out with American intervention, neither he, nor Perez de Cuellar, through the United Nations, could harbor any hopes of accomplishing a rapid ceasefire.

2909
CSO: 3548/489

HIGH COST OF MAINTAINING AUTONOMY OFFICIALDOM

Madrid ABC in Spanish 23 Aug 83 p 20

[Article by Patricia Ballesteros]

[Text] Madrid--The state of the autonomies has caused the creation of, or has issued citizenship papers to an extensive new political group, with the resultant increase in spending. With the outcry for lending dignity to the new posts, salaries, representation costs and per diem...the costs are rising. A president of an autonomous community collects what a minister does, and the autonomous ministers collect what an undersecretary does. The new political group is expensive.

Not only are there new institutions that must be supported, and autonomous officials to be paid, but there has also been a substantial increase in the sums allocated for various budget items preexisting the state of the autonomies. This holds true of the Government Juntas, comprised of several council members or ministers (from nine to 12), who were previously members of the Provincial Deputyships. The presidents of the autonomous governments are allocated an average of 5 million pesetas per year. Nevertheless, there are in some communities sums which are twice these salaries, cloaked in items such as representation costs, and appropriations for individual expenses related to protocol, which are added to the pay of the heads of the autonomous executive bodies, resulting in scandalous amounts.

There are several autonomies which have not yet had their budgets for this year approved, in which event they have the extended 1982 budget, as in the case of Navarra.

The forecasts for expenses of the autonomies vary ostensibly, from the over 320 billion pesetas of the Generalitat of Catalunya to the nearly 2 billion of the Balearic Islands.

In second place for the largest budget is the Basque Country, at a considerable distance, with anticipated spending of nearly 87 billion, followed very closely by the Communities of Andalucia and Galicia, with respective budgets of 81.529 and 80 billion.

Taking an intermediate place is the Navarra Community, with a budget of 40 billion, and Valencia, with 25 billion, with the amount gradually declining until it amounts to no more than 5 billion pesetas for the rest of the communities.

Nevertheless, only a small percentage of these large sums earmarked for public spending by the autonomies is allocated for the total expenditure of the Parliaments. In the case of the Generalitat of Catalunya, the Parliament is assigned only 0.3 percent of the total budget; in other words, 911 million pesetas. A total of 673 million pesetas is allocated for the Assembly of the Basque Country.

These budgets of the legislative bodies include the salaries or per diem of the members of Parliament and the personnel of the Chamber. In some instances, as in the case of the Basque Country, with 4 million pesetas per year, the deputies have been allocated considerable salaries; whereas in other communities they do not even earn a salary. They do receive per diem for each day of work, fluctuating between 5,000 and 7,000 pesetas, plus mileage expenses. On the other hand, we would have to add the subsidies which the community grants for each parliamentary group and number of deputies, which each one of them distributes among its members in the manner that it deems most suitable.

Garaicoechea Collects More

But the spending that has been the most controversial has been that involving the pay of the presidents of the communities. For example, the president of the Basque Government, Carlos Garaicoechea, collects approximately 7.5 million pesetas per year. The new president of the Navarra Community will earn "only" 2 million by way of salary, although the other, and larger, related expenses could easily triple this amount.

Generally speaking, the salaries of the autonomous presidents correspond to those of the ministers, with a total of about 500,000 pesetas a month; while those of the council members, or ministers of the autonomies, generally correspond to those of the undersecretaries, with over a quarter of a million per month, and in a large number of instances, with a sum close to 5 million per year.

The salary of the presidents of the deputyships usually corresponds to that of the council members, standing at about 200,000 pesetas per month, on the average.

As for the municipal governments, the mayors' salaries in some instances amount to 300,000 pesetas a month. However, others have considerably lower salaries, such as that of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, who has been allocated only the sum of 76,000 pesetas (which he has refused, because it is incompatible with what he earns for being a senator).

It should be pointed out that, as a general feature of the council members' salaries, there is a great difference between those shown by the government and the members of the opposition. The members of the former earn an average of 80,000 pesetas per month, while the salary for the latter is 25,000 pesetas.

2909

CSO: 3548/489

TRIBUNAL ON WATER POLLUTION TO BE HELD IN ROTTERDAM

Brussels LE SOIR in French 10 Aug 83 p 8

[Article by Eric Hoos]

[Text] European ecological movements have served "summons" to twenty-four companies and institutions, including 2 Belgian industries, "Bayer" of Anvers and "N.L. Chemical" of Gand, requesting their appearance before the "international water tribunal" to be held October 3-8 in Rotterdam. Other names may be added between now and the start of the session, since by then it is likely that the party responsible for the cyanide pollution resulting in the recent slaughter of fish in the Liege Meuse will be identified.

The two industries cited above are accused of polluting West European waters by dumping excessive quantities of heavy metals, chlorine hydrocarbons, radioactive wastes and other pollutants. A twelve-member international jury, which will include a former "Karlsruhe Federal Constitutional Court" judge and a former Dutch environmental minister, will judge the "defendants" according to international environmental and especially water resource treaties and agreements.

The ministerial council of the Rhine river countries (France, FRG, Switzerland and the Netherlands) and East Germany's state council have also been summoned before the "international water tribunal". The former is accused of tolerating continual pollution by a variety of chemicals. The latter has not opposed the dumping of salt into the Weser river by East German industries, the plaintiffs claim.

Besides these two institutions, one Danish, 2 Belgian, 3 East German, 7 Dutch and 8 West German industries and the British nuclear plant at Windscale have been invited to undergo questioning next October where they will have the opportunity of defending themselves against accusations. However, the organizers have little hope of seeing the "defendants" respond to their "summons".

Four universities, including the University of Louvain, have analyzed 2,000 samples taken from the Rhine and other large West European rivers. A report on these analyses will be presented to the tribunal.

The organizational costs of this tribunal will reach approximately 26 million Belgian francs; two-thirds of this sum has already been contributed by the State and other Dutch institutions, by private institutions and by the European Community.

Effects of Ecological Activism

The activities of the European ecological movements are putting increasing pressure on West European authorities and industrialists to abide by the recommendations of the 1972 Stockholm Conference and by the European Water Charter which was passed 15 years ago, on May 6, 1968.

The Dutchman Boudewijn Heinderijk, spokesman for the tribunal, stated that an unidentified French industry halted its dumping of pollutants into the Loire shortly after its name appeared on a list of possible defendants at the "international water tribunal". "Pure coincidence" industry leaders told the tribunal's organizers. "A lucky coincidence", Mr Heinderijk observed.

The efforts of ecological activists can sometimes hamper the fight against pollution, as when a solution proposed by one group poses a threat to another. A good example is the case of the French "Alsatian Potash Mines" which were dumping salt in the Rhine near Strasbourg at the rate of 130 kilos a second.

The ministerial council of the Rhine river countries signed the Bonn agreement in 1976 to protect this river against chemical pollution. According to this agreement, the dry salt being dumped in the Rhine by the Alsatian potash mines could be stored in the Alsatian soil. The other river countries even established a fund to finance this underground storage operation. Although this solution was hailed by West German and Dutch ecological activists and by the more than 20 million inhabitants of those two countries who depend on the Rhine for their drinking water, it was strongly opposed by French ecological activists. Their opposition was so great that the French government, fearing possible political losses, put off introducing the Bonn agreement for ratification in the National Assembly until 1983. It was not until the end of last May that the government announced its intention of submitting it for ratification to the National Assembly sometime in the near future.

The organizers of the "international water tribunal" are aware of their limited clout but hope that the "verdicts" handed down by the independent jury next October, based on 25 international environmental treaties and agreements, will strengthen the fight against pollution.

9825
CSO: 3619/92

VIOLENCE CONTINUES TO BE MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEM

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 9 Aug 83 p 8

[Text] There is 22 times more violence in the town of Narsaaq, Greenland than in Esbjerg, and assault on females is 23 times more frequent in Narsaaq than in Denmark, according to a recent study.

Doctors Jens Hovesen and Bent Jorgensen with the hospital in Narsaaq have completed a study of violence in that city, which shows that 35 percent of all emergency ward treatments are due to violence.

Only one instance of rape was reported during the 9 months' study, not because only a few women are forced to have intercourse against their will, but rather because women do not turn to others with the problem.

Generally speaking, reported rape cases are only "the tip of the iceberg," according to the doctors, who in the Journal of the Medical Association wrote that "many girls in Narsaaq are sexually abused by their stepfathers."

Since Narsaaq does not differ substantially from other Greenland towns with respect to violence, Greenland must be said to have major social problems. There could be many reasons--unemployment, poor housing, adjustment problems and an ill-functioning criminal code.

Some 96 Percent Intoxicated

"However," wrote the doctors, "the fact that 96 percent of those who commit violence are highly intoxicated, that more than half of the injuries are due to violence and alcohol-related damages, and that violence has more than doubled since the alcohol-rationing was suspended, seem to point to the fact that there are too many alcohol problems on Greenland.

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CSO: 3613/172

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